N6 212
1/6
+
8135. aa. 43.

A LETTER

FROM A

GENTLEMAN in the NORTH,

TO A

Member of Parliament,

Concerning the Conduct of ſome GREAT MEN in Relation to the Late PEACE.

LONDON:

Printed for A. MOORE near *St. Paul's* Church-yard, and Sold by the Bookſellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, 1730.

(Price 6 d.)

BRITISH MUSEUM

A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN, &c.

SIR,

AS to the general Principles of *Government*, laid down in your Letter, they are certainly agreeable to right Reason, and the juſteſt Standard of Political Conduct. The Good of *Society* was the Original of *Laws*; and *Societies* themſelves were no doubt inſtituted to preſerve *Individuals*. When Governments are ſo far from promoting, that they are deſtructive of theſe Ends, they naturally ceaſe, and become Oppreſſion. The Conſtitutions of different Countries are indeed various; but the Obligations between the Governing and the Governed are every where mutual. The OFFICE of a *King*, a *Senate*, or of the *Executive Power* in a *popular State*, is to protect; for this great End they claim the Aſſiſtance of thoſe they govern, and may even command their Lives and Fortunes:

What but ſacrificing themſelves upon ſuch Occaſions made a SCÆVOLA or a COCLES?

I ALSO join with you in your Notions of the *Abuſe* of the *Publick* Truſt, with this Addition only, that upon this Foot our preſent happy *Eſtabliſhment* is founded, and indeed the *Eſtabliſhment* of all the Monarchies in *Europe* ſtand upon the ſame Foundation, whatever *Ground* the ſeveral Monarchs in ſome Countries may have *gain'd* upon their People, and by whatever Arts they may have obtain'd of them to *give up their* Right (of being the laſt Reſort of Power) to their King; *namely*, that when KINGS uſe this *entruſted Power* merely to gratify their Luſts and Paſſions, and ſacrifice Miriads to their private Reſentments; when Nations are deſtroyed for the Sake of a Favourite, a Miſtreſs, or a little empty Fame, they are no longer *Monarchs*; their Government in effect ceaſes, and the Power they exert is properly termed *Tyranny*. The ſame it is in an *Ariſtocracy*, when the FEW IN AUTHORITY forget that Virtue on which it is founded, and inſtead of conſulting the Good of the *Publick*, form *Faction* and *Cabals*, to ſupport each other in Rapine and Injuſtice; buying Friendſhips with the Wealth and Honour of the COMMUNITY; and cementing their Leagues with the Blood of the Innocent. If *Tyranny* is grievous, *Oligarchy* is a many-headed Monſter, a very Hydra of *Oppreſſion*.

THE Corruption of a POPULAR GOVERNMENT is a Kind of Plague, where the whole is

is infected; the Contagion muſt ſpread itſelf to the very loweſt of the People, who claim a Right to a Voice in *Elections*. Few then can be admitted into *publick Affairs*, but thoſe who have pawned their Honour, being initiated in Corruption by bribing of others, and who commence where the Devil ends, by being Tempters. Men of this Stamp will doubtleſs ſell what they have ſo dearly bought; Laws, Liberties and Juſtice will be ſet up to the higheſt Bidders; Conſcience and Honour will then be term'd *a narrow Way of Thinking*, and a View of Advantage will waft the *Majority* backwards and forwards, like Waves driven by uncertain Winds. The worſt and weakeſt of Men will then riſe to the *Head* of *Affairs*; ſince to govern ſuch a People requires no other Qualifications, than thoſe which are poſſeſſed by every Attorney and extorting Scrivener. Univerſal Impunity, and eſteeming nothing criminal but honeſt Poverty, is the Conſequence of ſuch a State; which the Antients called *Anarchy*, a Term ſignifying ſomething oppoſite to the very Eſſence of *Government* it ſelf.

Hence the beſt of all Governments, the moſt eligible, and moſt agreeable to the Security and Eaſe of the whole Body, is what we call a *Limited Monarchy*, and which is to this Day called the *Gothick Conſtitution*; in which the *executive* Power being lodg'd in the Prince, he is yet obliged to govern his Subjects by certain ſtated Rules, which we call Laws; on the *Terms* of which he accepts the Name, Office, and

Autho-

Authority of a KING, and on the like Terms the Subjects ſwear their *Allegiance*; where the Obligation being mutual, the *State* is compleatly happy in the mutual Adhering to the Form of it, which is called GOVERNMENT, by which the *King* and his *People* join Hands and Hearts to make each other ſtrong, rich, quiet, and perfectly eaſy; and while the Bond continues *unbroken*, they muſt be ſo.

THE *Roman* and moſt of the *Græcian States* were built upon the *Republican Plan*; but when the *Northern Nations* deſtroyed the *Empire*, they eſtabliſhed, wherever they came, this *mixt Form* of *Government*; the Preſervation of which Conſtitution depended upon the Balance between the *King*, *Nobility*, and *People*. The *Legiſlative Power* was lodged in theſe three *Eſtates*, call'd by different Names in different Countries; in the *North* DIETS, in *Spain* CORTES, in *France* and ſome other Parts, ESTATES, and in *England* PARLIAMENTS; and whereas the *unmixt Forms* of *Government* ſubſiſt only whilſt they continue virtuous, Vice itſelf ſeldom ruins, nay often ſupports the *Gothick Conſtitution*. The Vices of our King JOHN ſtrengthened the *Barons* to that Degree, that they obtained from him the *Magna Charta*, the beſt of Laws from the worſt of Princes. In the Wars between the Houſes of YORK and LANCASTER, the *Lords* almoſt ſwallowed up the TWO OTHER ESTATES; when in the Reign of HENRY VII, the Extravagance and Folly of the *Nobility* reſcued the Conſtitution from Ruin. They ſold their Lands to ſatisfy their Luxury, and *Property* changing hands

hands, *Power* ſoon followed; the KING became able to bring the proudeſt LORD to Juſtice, and the COMMONS, growing rich by Commerce and Manufactures, which that wiſe King encouraged, purchaſed the Eſtates of the Nobility and Gentry, and ſo by poſſeſſing the *Freehold* became a conſiderable Part of the *Legiſlature*.

THE GOTHICK *Government*, like the World ſubſiſting by the Oppoſition of the Elements of which it is compos'd, has its Faults, tho' founded on Experience, and formed to receive Strength from the Errors of Men, a Fund never to be exhauſted; yet Length of Time, and a Succeſſion of Folly and Vice in *two Parts* of the *Legiſlature*, and of Cunning and Succeſs in the *third*, has driven it almoſt out of EUROPE. In *Spain*, *France*, *Denmark*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, and Part of *Germany*, the *Monarchy*, not to ſay *Tyranny*, has ſwallowed up the *antient Conſtitution*; in *Switzerland*, and *Holland*, the *two other Eſtates* have yielded to the *Commons*; *England* and *Poland* only have preſerved, and *Sweden* lately regained, the *Gothick Conſtitution*.

I have inſiſted the longer upon theſe general Points, that you might from thence obſerve, that all theſe Kinds of *Government* are good in themſelves, and become bad, nay ceaſe to be, when adminiſtred by weak or wicked Perſons; ſo that the Qualifications of the *Governors* either deſtroy or preſerve the *Conſtitution* of every *Realm*. Who are fitteſt to perform this

this glorious, tho' toilsome Task, has been the Occasion of all *Civil Discords*. This Contest, when it goes no farther than Emulation, is laudable, and the very best Support of *Liberty*; but when it proceeds to Faction and Violence, is highly criminal.

In the Nature of Things the Opposition is between the Good and Bad, and as a Consequence of this, in Political Disputes, each Party strives to justify their own *Measures*; and to represent their Adversaries as *Enemies* to their *Country!* The Difficulty then is, to determine who are the true *Patriots*, with whom we are indispensably obliged to concur. This is a Matter of the highest Consequence, since our acting justly or unjustly depends upon our Judgment in this Point. It is the Motives of Action that makes a Difference between a Brutus and a Raviliac.

Let me then conjure you, Sir, to consider well what you are doing in this important Crisis of your Life: You are now a Part of the *Legislative Power* of the *Nation:* It is your *Country* which requires your Service: Regard neither *private Obligations*, nor *particular Factions:* Be no more swayed by a *Spirit of Opposition*, than awed by *Fear*, or biassed by *Interest*. The Applauses of designing Men are apt to influence young and generous Minds; and the Compassion which we receive from antient Authors for suffering Merit, makes us often mistake Suffering for Virtue. Let

Reason,

Reaſon, not Paſſion, guide your Determination;

See, Try, Judge.

Ph. Sidney.

After *the late Peace*, which put an End to the ſtrong Confederacies on both Sides, it was thought, however *unwilling* ſome People were to come into the Conditions of it, yet it ſeem'd that being at length brought to comply with it, every Side would have endeavour'd to reap the Benefit of the common Tranquility, and ſit down by what they had got; and this the rather, becauſe on the Confederate Side, every Branch might be ſaid to gain or regain ſomewhat; and on the *French* and *Spaniſh* Side, tho' they ſeemed to loſe, yet they had great Reaſon to be ſatisfied, that they loſt no more.

But the *publick* Tranquility had not been long ſettled, and the Sweets of *Peace* hardly taſted, 'till we found *Spain* arming both by Sea and Land, and being apparently *uneaſy* at the diſmembering her vaſt Monarchy by the late Peace, preparing by Force to recover ſome of her antient Poſſeſſion, not doubting to do it by her own Power, there being no *form'd* Confederacy then ſubſiſting againſt her, and depending that *France* befriending her, there could be no Alliance capable of obſtructing her Deſigns, had ſhe taken her Meaſures wrong, as the Event made it appear.

Europe was a long while amuſed with the ſurprizing Armament of *Spain*; her Councils were

impenetrable, even *France* itſelf could not break in upon them; her *Fleets* were fitted out, and her *naval Powers* increas'd beyond what was thought poſſible; her Army filled up with old *veteran* Troops well cloath'd, well diſciplin'd, and, which was unuſual in *Spain*, *well paid*, made an Appearance quite different from what had been ſeen in that Country for many Ages, and were commanded by an old gallant and experienc'd General, who had been bred up for many Years in the Wars, under the great *King* WILLIAM; I mean, the late Marquis *de Lede*, and he took eſpecial Care to fill up all the Commands under him with Men of Experience and Bravery, like himſelf.

AT length they embark, and when all the World expected them in another Quarter, behold the Storm fell upon the Iſland of *Sardinia*, where they made their Deſcent, took the Capital, and ſoon after the whole Iſland; and not making any Stay there, attack'd *Sicily* with the like Celerity and Succeſs; nor has it been doubted but that, had they not been prevented by the NAVAL Power of *Great-Britain*, they would have had the like Succeſs in their Attack upon *Naples*, which it was then apparent was the main of their Deſign.

How this War ended, how *France* diſappointed the *Spaniards*, and came into a *Quadruple* Alliance againſt them, and how the *Britiſh* Fleet attacked and defeated the *Spaniſh* Fleet at *Cape Paſſai*; how after this the *Spaniards* were beaten out of *Sicily* by the Help of the ſame

ſame *Britiſh* Fleet, aſſiſting the *Germans* to waft over their Armies, and preventing the like Supplies from *Spain*; all this is Matter of Hiſtory, and needs not to be repeated.

But after all theſe great Things done for our Allies, this War was no ſooner ended, and *Sicily* taken from the King of *Sardinia*, and given to the *Emperor*, but we found an Alteration almoſt in the Face of all the Affairs of *Europe*: Our Trade ſuffer'd greatly in *Spain*, his Catholick Majeſty reſenting our Conduct in the War, tho' he ſubmitted to the Event of it; the *French* Alliance appear'd *precarious*, and the Emperor apparently *cooling* in his Affection towards us, and ſeeming to forget all the Great Things we had done for him.

The Congreſs at *Cambray* came to nothing, the *Spaniards* made Difficulties, and hung back from the Treaty, and ſet all their Engines at work to draw off our Allies; which at laſt they effected, to the Surprize of all *Europe*, in the Treaty of *Vienna*; of which in its Place,

To decide upon the preſent Situation, it will be neceſſary to look back as far as that *Æra*, when Affairs took a new turn, and forced themſelves into the Channel where they now run. It was a fatal Step that had lately been taken, by which *Sicily* was given up to the *Emperor*, and he made ſo abſolute Maſter of *Italy*, that he no longer wanted either the *Dutch* or *Engliſh* Aſſiſtance. The Face of Affairs in *Europe* was now quite changed, and new

Friends were to be ſought out; for thoſe who had ſupported us ever ſince the Revolution, were either not able or not willing to aſſiſt us. The Regent of *France* ſeemed for ſome time inclined to take Advantage of our Diſorders, and make up the broken Fortunes of his Friends at our Expence; for under Pretence of the Plague, a very conſiderable Body of Troops were marched down to the Coaſts of *Normandy*, amongſt which were all the Remains of the *Iriſh* Regiments, who had followed the Fortune of King *James* II.

However the *Regent*, finding Occaſion after that to change his Meaſures, laid aſide all his Thoughts of Enmity, and even imparted to our Miniſters the Deſigns of the *Diſaffected* in *England*; and his Succeſſors the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the preſent *Cardinal* (tho' the one was a Friend, and the other a Ghoſtly Father to the late Queen at St. *Germans*) did the ſame, and heartily embraced the *Engliſh Intereſt*. Strange, that thoſe who in their perſonal Inclinations were averſe to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, ſhould in their Political Capacity become Friends to it! But the Myſtery vaniſhes, if we conſider that *France* is no longer the firſt Power in *Europe*, and conſequently that it is now her Intereſt to preſerve a Ballance.

Whilst *France* thus remained in our Intereſt, the *Emperor*, by the wiſe Government of the Countries under his Command, grew every Day more powerful, and having in the late War found by Experience the Strength of

England

England and *Holland* ariſing from their *Trade*, he thought it not unworthy his Care to improve Commerce in his own Dominions. He firſt ſet up Manufactures upon the Banks of the *Danube*, and declared *Fiume* and *Trieſte* free Ports; by this Means opening an Intercourſe by Sea, not only with his Dominions of *Naples*, but with the reſt of the World: Then he privately encouraged the *Eaſt-India* Trade from *Oſtend*, afterwards publickly erected a Company, and gave them a Charter, and at length concluded a Treaty with the *Spaniards*, terminating all Differences by the Promiſe of a *Marriage*, thus uniting *Spain* and the *Empire*, as in the antient flouriſhing Days of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

The *Spaniards* in the Year 1721 had not forgot the Inſults of the *Britiſh* Fleet near *Meſſina*: Their Nature is long to remember, and never to think it too late for Revenge. This they covered by a pretended *Reconciliation*; to obtain which, Hopes had been given them (and perhaps Promiſes) of reſtoring *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*; which was once warmly ſollicited by the *Regent* of *France*, to whom it is ſaid a Miniſter, ſince dead, promiſed to deliver up thoſe Places, one of which himſelf had conquer'd. The *Spaniards* often demanded, and *to this Day* inſiſt upon the Performance of theſe Promiſes, which it was likewiſe the Intereſt of many other Powers in *Europe*, perhaps ſome of them our Friends too, to deſire.

HAVING taken this short View of Affairs abroad, you are next to consider how Affairs at home are alter'd since the Year 1720. *Publick Credit* is not only reviv'd, but Money borrowed at a much lower Interest than at any time since the Beginning of the late War: As for the Stocks, they rise and fall by the Management of those who make a trade of them; the *Publick Faith* is no farther concerned, than to see the Interest duly paid 'till the Principal is discharged.

PERHAPS therefore it was not worth while to give seven Millions for raising *South-Sea* to an advanced Price; yet on the other Side the Rise of the Stocks occasioned the Fall of the Interest of Money; since none would have lent at 4 *l. per Cent.* on *Government-Security*, if they could have bought Stock at *par*, which would have brought in 5 *l. per Cent.* The *Sinking Fund* has of late been regularly appropriated to the Uses for which it was designed, and the Stretching the *Credit* of the *Bank*, for the circulating of *Exchequer Bills*, has been applied to the Benefit of the *Publick*.

YOU alledge that we are greatly in Debt, and send me a long Catalogue of all the Duties laid on since the Revolution; but you should consider when those Debts were contracted: You will not, I believe, find any Increase since 1722, excepting those of the *Civil List*, and even they in 1725 can hardly be said

ſaid to be increaſed, but only provided for by *Parliament*.

FRUGAL Management is the beſt Method of paying Debts, and it is worth our Inquiring, whether the *Revenue* has not been increaſed by that Method? Whether Suppreſſing the Smuglers has not augmented the Cuſtoms? Whether *Scotland* has not been taught to pay her Share of Taxes, which was long thought impracticable? Whether the *Flow* of *Credit* has not been made uſe of for the publick Service? Whether that vaſt Machine of *Paper Money* has not been applied towards lowering the Intereſt of the *National Debt?* All this militates in Favour of your Adminiſtration, notwithſtanding what your Enemies can alledge to the contrary.

IT is true, theſe Things required ſome Skill, but much more was neceſſary to prevent *Credit* from ſinking under its own Weight at the *Apprehenſions of a War*; yet we ſee this Year, in Spight of all the Cabals of *Uſurers* at home, and the Menaces of *Invaſions* from abroad, that Money is borrowed at 4 *l. per Cent.* Tho' the *Outcry*, that was made at the *Load* of the *Debts*, was calculated merely to oppoſe the raiſing Money at this *low Intereſt*.

YOU mention next as a Grievance, the *Augmenting* of the *Troops*, I could add to your Catalogue many more Inconveniencies ariſing from a *ſtanding Army*. But were not the Reaſons againſt this as ſtrong, if not ſtronger, ſome

Years

Years ago? You yourself were then zealous for an *Augmentation*, tho' we were under no Apprehensions from abroad. It were to be wished indeed, that the Sword were in the Hands of the *People of England*, that we might not depend for Safety on *Stipendary Troops*: But the Militia is now useless, and even thought a Burden by the People themselves, and the Dispute is not now as formerly, Whether we shall be defended by the Arms of the *Inhabitants*, or by *regular Troops*; but whether it is preferable to raise Forces of our own *Countrymen*, or to be obliged to *Foreigners* for precarious Succours? Should *England*, which has no fortified Towns, be invaded, Things would be decided before the *Dutch* Auxiliaries could embark, and they would arrive when they could be of no other Service but to plunder the Country. If you are for depending entirely upon the Protection of the *Navy*, you should inform us how to bribe the Elements, and keep a constant wind in Pay; tho' I think lately you as much opposed Increasing the Sea as the Land Forces. Strange, that Patriots should vote against putting their Country into a Posture of Defence, and think their *Liberties* safer in the Hands of *mercenary Forcigners*, than in their *native Forces!*

As for the Land Tax, you are in the right to say it is a heavy Load on *Landed Interest*; but if this is the only Method by which Money can be raised within the Year, and without entailing a Debt on *Posterity*, it will be a Burthen not only cheerfully born, but it is also

ſo to be wiſhed that the ſame Method had been uſed ever ſince the Revolution, for then we had not groaned under that Load of Debts, of which you now ſo loudly complain. Beſides, ſince by this Means Money will be kept down to 4 *l. per Cent.* the *Landed Men* may perhaps ſave as much by lowering the Intereſt of their *Mortgages*, as they will pay by the Increaſe of the *Tax*.

The general Diſſatisfaction, that was but too viſible at the fatal *Æra* before mention'd, ſeems now entirely diſſipated, hardly any Diſtinction of Party remaining, except amongſt a harmleſs Body of *diſcarded Courtiers*. At that time, you thought Dangers were not chimerical; and that nothing but *Blood* was ſufficient to quench the Diſaffection, yet now you ſee, that without Racks or Gibbets, *Faction* has diſappeared, and that no *Engliſhman* (however oppoſite we may be in other Reſpects) has made Application for *Foreign Troops*, either to invade or to defend his Country.

The Condition of Foreign Affairs in the Year 1722 is already mentioned, ſince which they have been kept in ſuch Suſpence, as to render all the Endeavours of our Enemies unſucceſsful, until the *Alliance* between the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards* broke out, by which the former obtained from the King of *Spain* a *Renuntiation* of his Rights in *Italy*, free Acceſs to all his Ports, and an Aſſurance of his Guarrantee in the *Praguematick Union*, which is an Act of Settlement, whereby all the Emperor's

Dominions are to deſcend united in the ſame Perſon.

So many Conceſſions granted on the one Side, and no Equivalent on the other, gave Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that ſome *ſecret Articles* in Favour of *Spain* had been concluded; and the Event ſhewed that We were to have paid for the Advantages granted to the *Imperialiſts*. For the COURT OF MADRID openly demanded *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, and the EMPEROR offer'd his *friendly Offices* (if not more) to perſuade or compel us to deliver them up. The *Allies* of *Vienna* were ſoon ſtrengthened by the CZARINA's Acceſſion to their Treaty, on Condition that ſhe might be ſupported in deſtroying *Sweden* and *Denmark*; nor was this a new Thought of the *Ruſſians*, ſince the CZAR offer'd the late REGENT his Aſſiſtance, towards making the King of *France* ſole Monarch of all the *South* of *Europe*, provided that Nation would forward him in ſubjecting the *North*. The CZARINA made ſuch Preparations, both by Sea and Land, as gave Reaſon to apprehend, that ſhe not only intended to ſwallow up *Sweden*, but to carry her Arms much farther, and, by a *ſecret Treaty* with the *Spaniards*, ſhe was to aſſiſt them with Ships to invade *England*.

WE were then but in a bad Poſture of Defence; our Garriſons in the *Mediterranean* were very weak, the *Dutch* had not yet acceded to the *Hanover Treaty*, and the King of *Pruſſia* was near withdrawing himſelf from it. Our own Strength was all that we had to rely upon, and

and the vigorous Uſe we made of it, turned all theſe *real* into *chimerical* Dangers. A *Squadron* ſent to the *Mediterranean* put *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* into a Poſture of Defence; a *Britiſh* Fleet arrived ſo early in the *Baltick*, as to block up the *Ruſſians* in their Ports, and our Men of War in the *Weſt-Indies* prevented the Return of the Galleons, and by ſtopping the *Spaniſh Money*, prevented the Execution of the *Vienna Schemes* for at leaſt a Twelvemonth: This Proceeding was but purſuing a Precedent given by the *Miniſters* in the Reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH, who underſtood the Nature of Credit ſo well, that they delayed the Equipping the *Armada* for a whole Year, by procuring ſuch great Draughts on the Bank of *Genoa* (who were to have advanced the Money to King PHILIP) that they were not able to furniſh the neceſſary Sums 'till the Seaſon of the Year was too late for Action. By theſe Meaſures that wiſe Queen gained Time to make Preparations, to give the *Spaniards* that unexpected Reception which they met with in 1588.

THE Time gained by the Succeſs of our Fleets was improved in ſuch a Manner, that the *Dutch* and *French* are grown *Principals* in the War, the one perſwaded by the Hopes of deſtroying the *Oſtend Company*, the other by the Fear of the reviving Power of the *Houſe of Auſtria*, and the too ſtrict Alliance between that Family and the *Court* of *Madrid*. Nor was leſs Advantage procured by defending the *Northern Crowns*, ſince by this Means *Denmark*

is become our ſtrict Ally, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, the King, and at leaſt a great Part of the *Swediſh* Nation, are fixt in the *Engliſh Intereſt*. Thus is *Scandinavia Britain's Northern* Bulwark, and we ſhall have no Reaſon to apprehend any Invaſion from that Part of the World from which no Fleet can defend us. Had the CZARINA, according to her Deſign, conquered *Denmark*, and fixt her Son-in-Law on the Throne of *Sweden*, the Winds from three Parts of the Compaſs would have brought the *Muſcovite* Ships to our Coaſt; and even in Calms their Galleys from the *Daniſh* and *Norwegian* Shores could have landed at pleaſure in *Britain*, while our Ships muſt have lain uſeleſs in their Harbours. How dreadful that Coaſt is in the Hands of Enemies, the *antient Daniſh Ravages*, recorded in our Chronicles, are too melancholy an Inſtance; nor are the *Ruſſian* Numbers, nor their Cruelties, leſs terrible than thoſe of the antient *Danes*. The extirpating the *Livonians* by their Land Armies, and the ravaging the Coaſt of *Sweden* by their Galleys, even whilſt a *Britiſh* Fleet was in their Seas, ſhews that the Suddenneſs of their Invaſions, and their Cruelties to the Vanquiſhed, are equal to thoſe of their moſt *barbarous Anceſtors*.

LET us now fairly ſtate the Objection made to the *preſent Meaſures*, that we may be able to judge, whether there are ſufficient Grounds for *Diſcontent*. The firſt is a general Complaint of *arbitrary Power*, yet you ſpecify no high-flown Acts of *Prerogative*; no Taxes impoſed

poſed merely by *Regal Authority*, no Statutes ſuſpended by *Proclamation*, nor any Member of either Houſe proſecuted for *Liberty of Speech* uſed in Debates, ſo that thoſe which you call *Grievances*, are no leſs in Truth than *Acts of Parliament*. The Subject Matter of theſe loud Complaints is, in plain *Engliſh*, That the *Eſtates* of the *Realm* paſs ſuch *Acts* as they think proper, which are afterwards very punctually executed; and the heavy Charge of exerting an *arbitrary Power* falls indeed upon the whole *Legiſlature*. Surely, no Man in his Senſes will deny, that our KING, LORDS, and COMMONS have an *abſolute unlimited Authority?* Or gravely affirm, that rejecting the unreaſonable Demands of a *Minority* is in the leaſt deſtructive of the *Rights* of *Parliament?*

I read all your Papers with Care, and did they particularize what they call *Male-Adminiſtration*, ſome kind of Judgment might be formed, but they complain only in general of *Oppreſſions*: Were theſe *Oppreſſions* ſo univerſal as they pretend, the Clamours againſt them would be as univerſal, and an injured People would unanimouſly demand Juſtice upon their *Oppreſſors*. If every Man felt himſelf aggriev'd, *Diſcontent* would not be confined to *a few diſcarded Courtiers*; but the whole Nation would join in one general Cry for Vengeance, as they did upon the Miſeries occaſioned by the *South-Sea Scheme*.

THE

THE next Complaint is of the Liberty of the Preſs being reſtrained; but this carries its Confutation with it, ſince many of the Papers you ſent me are very freely written, and yet I find that they are publiſhed with the Parliamentary Stamp. At the latter End of the Book intitled, *A State of the National Debt*, &c. it is alledged, that the Exciſe Officers may enter any Man's Houſe in Search of Tea, Coffee and Chocolate, and this is by *inuendo* compared to the Chimney Tax in a former Reign, which was a * "Badge of Slavery upon "the whole People, expoſing every Man's "Houſe to be enter'd into, and ſearch'd at "pleaſure by Perſons unknown to him." But there is a wide Difference between them, for by the Acts which you cenſure, none but the Houſes of Dealers in the Commodities there mentioned are to be entered by any Officer of the Exciſe, unleſs Oath of Concealment be firſt made, and an Officer of the *Civil Power* be preſent. You yourſelf, Sir, was very zealous ſome Years ago for granting (in the Caſe of Brandies, *&c.*) the ſame Authority for ſearching, of which you now ſo loudly complain.

ANOTHER ſeeming Objection is the Squandering away the Money of the Publick in *ſecret Service*. When I came to examine this Point, I found that the Sum ſo complained of, was given out of the *Civil Liſt*. Shall not our Kings then be allowed to diſpoſe of that Part of

* Laſt Page.

of their Revenue without being accountable, which is therefore granted them by *Act of Parliament?* Yet Condeſcenſions were ſo far made, as to lay before the *Houſe of Commons* an Account of the particular Uſes to which that Revenue was applied, one of which was a large Article for *ſecret Services*; and this is what gives Occaſion to the Clamour of the *Immenſe Sums thrown away without being accounted for.* But ſuppoſe this had belonged to the *Publick*, I appeal to your ſelf, whether a Treaty obtained, or an Invaſion diſſipated, by the proper Application of a Sum of Money, is not more eligible than the like Advantage purchaſed at a much greater Expence of Blood and Treaſure? As for what he ſays of * King JAMES's Frugality in ſuch Caſes, the Revolution perhaps had never happened had he been liberal for *ſecret Services.* This is beyond Diſpute, from many Inſtances; and an Officer of Note, not long ſince dead, who was in the Secret, frequently declared that he intended to have diſcovered the whole Deſign of the Prince of ORANGE, but that upon applying himſelf to thoſe in Power, he found that he ſhould not meet with ſufficient Encouragement.

THE Political Papers are certainly witty, but contain only general Complaints of Corruption and Bribery. This has been the uſual commonplace Clamour of the *few* againſt the *Majority* ever ſince the Reign of CHARLES II. The Outparty called the long Parliament *Penſioners,*

* Page 9, 33.

ſtoners, tho' the King was ſo poor that he had no Money to give them. The Courtiers accuſed the ſubſequent Parliaments, particularly that at *Oxford*, of being bribed by the *Dutch*. The firſt Parliaments of JAMES II. were ſaid to be univerſally corrupted by the Court, and yet notwithſtanding their being cloſeted Man by Man, they refuſed to repeal the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*. In the Reign of King WILLIAM, the *Whig* Party alledged, that the *Tory* Parliament was bribed by the *French*; and they, on the other ſide, attributed the Zeal of their Adverſaries to Penſions and Places.

PEOPLE that are uſed to valuable Conſiderations, when they happen to be diſappointed, can never be perſwaded that others are prevailed upon by Reaſon, ſince they are conſcious to themſelves of being always ſwayed by more ſubſtantial Arguments. The Accuſation of Corruption is ſo very difficult to diſprove, that it may be ſafely thrown in, in general Terms: For he who would clear himſelf, muſt prove a Negative; and if boldly affirming that People are guilty muſt be allowed as a Proof, no Man's Reputation is ſafe, and the moſt innocent is not ſecure againſt Slander; nay, if all the Money that your Papers alledge were given, the *Exchequer* could not ſuffice for the Payment of it.

THEY are very merry about the *Royal Golden Specifick*, and the Writer ſpeaks of it ſo feelingly, that he ſeems to be uneaſy for Want of it,

it, which probably is the Cauſe of his being now afflicted with the troubleſome Diſtemper called *Cacöethes Scribendi.*

Your own Caſe likewiſe is deſcribed among others, where he ſays, that * " It cures all De-
" grees of Spleen, Vapours and Melancholy,
" be they of never ſo long Duration, or from
" whatever Cauſes they may proceed; whe-
" ther from an ill State of Health, Indigeſtion,
" and ſharp bilious Humours, or from a na-
" tural Gloomineſs and ſaturnine Diſpoſition
" of Mind." And I cannot account for the Continuance of your Illneſs by any other Means, but that the Quickneſs of your Digeſtion is ſuch, that the Doctor cannot afford you a ſufficient Quantity of his *Cordial.* You ſee, Sir, theſe Jeſts cut either way, and the ſame Things with little Variation might have been ſaid of any Miniſtry ſince *Nimrod.* In ſhort, the Cauſes of Diſaffection may be ſumm'd up in theſe Particulars, *viz.* That an Ambaſſador goes in dirty Linnen, that a certain Man married a virtuous Woman, a good Houſewife with a conſiderable Fortune, and that a firſt Miniſter wears a plain Coat upon his Back, and a Smile in his Countenance, that two eminent Lawyers had rather ſtay in *England*, than travel to *Vienna* for Money, to *Spain* for Liberty, or to *Rome* for Religion. But theſe Allegations are too trifling to be treated of ſeriouſly, yet the Curſe mentioned in the Viſion you ſent me, ſeems to have already fallen upon one of your new Friends, who himſelf would

* Craftſman No 4.

have *violated* the *Roll* there mentioned, had he not been prevented by Fate; and perhaps the Curſe was of his own framing, for the Words ſeem to flow from Experience, and it is probable that this Prophecy like others was written after it was fulfilled, and compoſed by him in the Bitterneſs of his Soul.——" * Let that Man " be cut off from the Earth, let his Riches be " ſcattered as the Duſt, let his Wife be the " Wife of the People, let not his firſt-born be " ranked amongſt the Nobles, let his Palaces " be deſtroyed, and his Gardens be as a " Deſert.

You ſee, Sir, what little Dependance there is upon your Occaſional Writers, ſince what they ſay is ſo convertible; and I have the worſe Opinion of their Cauſe, from their being ſo bare of Arguments, that they depend wholly upon Wit and Raillery. Really, Sir, attacking Men in their private Characters, and endeavouring to expoſe their Family-Secrets, is both a mean and improper Method of oppoſing a Party; it being of little Service to your own Cauſe, ſince it neither confutes nor convinces, but like aſſaſſinating in War, it only prejudices a ſingle Man, without advancing the publick Cauſe; beſides, it is imprudent, ſince he who begins theſe Attacks, muſt be very ſecure that his own, and his Family's Conduct, is entirely blameleſs. Abuſing People in Print, by Perſons who dare not own their Names, is worſe than ſtabbing in the dark, ſince it is murdering a Man's Reputation, without any Poſſibility of his

* Craftſman No 16.

his making a Defence, or offering any thing in his Juſtification.

THE Enemies of the preſent Adminiſtration make loud Clamours at our being ſtill *greatly in Debt*, and give us long Catalogues of ſuch Sums as are owing on Account of new Demands, ſince the new Engagements with the *Emperor* and *France*, mentioned above; by which they alledge, we increaſe our Debts on one hand faſter than we pay them off on the other; but we have ſeen with Pleaſure the Accounts you have exhibited to the World proving the contrary, and that ſince the Year 1722 there has not been any Increaſe of Debt, but on the contrary, a great *Increaſe* of *Caſh*, as a Stock in Bank for *paying* them off; this we call the *ſinking Fund*, and, if managed frugally and wiſely, it will in time abate the Load, and wear out the Debt, which at preſent lies ſo heavy upon the Nation.

WHAT then is the End of weekly Invectives in Print, and why is the *Adminiſtration* made thus a Mark for the Rage of ſome Men to ſhoot at, but to keep alive a Fuel of *Envy*, which, for want of Power to exert itſelf a worſe way, would e'er now have been extinct of its own Accord; for tho' the Liberty of the Preſs be allowed, yet the Laws againſt Slander and Libels remain; and Men ought no more to publiſh Falſhoods againſt *publick* Miniſters and Management, than againſt private Men; yet we ſee daily private Perſons can have their

Remedy againſt a Slanderer, when *publick* Miniſters mind it not.

But I do not at all reſent *Satyrs* on the *Miniſtry*, ſince ſcarce any, how laudable ſoever, eſcapes them, and think they ſhould be anſwer'd with *Silence*, that they might be ſmother'd, and die as it were in their own Duſt; for a total Contempt of, and intirely neglecting them, or rather ſmiling at their impotent Envy, than regarding their Malice, would be ſuitable to that *exalted* Principle on which a *prime Miniſter*, whoſe ſole View is his *Country*'s Service, always acts from: You are placed above them, out of the Reach of any thing but the Law, and your *Sovereign*'s juſt Affection, therefore the Clamours of *Malecontents* can do you no Hurt.

Had this Method been taken with them from the Beginning, the People had been ſick of the unprevailing Party; and the Author, who is ſupported by Nothing but Gain, or rather the Diſaffection which he perſwades himſelf he raiſes, finding his Attempts fruitleſs, would have miſs'd his Aim of one, as well as have been miſtaken in the other.

It is evident, theſe *Men* would be firſt thought *conſiderable*, by looking upon themſelves to be ſo; for when you are for *Peace*, they are for *War*; if you ſeem inclined to aſſert *His Majeſty*'s Right, tho' a *War* ſhould follow, they are then for giving up thoſe *Rights*, to obtain a *Peace*,

They

THEY would first reproach you with being *diffident* of *France*, and of their *Fidelity* to their *Alliances*, and then endeavour to prove you have Reason to be so; they would have you *disoblige* your *Allies*, and then make *War* without them: Every way they discover the *Treachery* of their Principles, and tell us, if they thought we should be *beaten*, they would have us go to *War*; if they believed we were able to carry on the *War* with *Advantage*, they would have us give up the Possessions and Commerce of *Great-Britain*, to buy a *dishonourable Peace*.

THE Ministry have been aware of all this, and have hitherto countermined their *secret* Working in the *Dark*; they have maintained the *Peace*, preserved our Trade, and brought our Allies to give *Assurances* of their Steadiness to our Interest, and what can be desir'd more, I confess, I do not yet see? If the Situation of Things alter, we may alter our Notions of them; but I think we should attend a little the Event of all these *Disorders*, before we pass any farther Judgment upon the *Administration*.

THUS, Sir, I have answered every Particular of your Letter, omitting only the usual Repetitions for the Sake of Brevity: I am perswaded so strongly of your Candor, that the Vehemence with which you support the common Cry, must proceed from your being carried away by the Clamour of *designing Men*. The Warmth which you express at the Shadow of Danger to your Countrey, shews how

zealous

zealous you would be in her Service, were her Liberties really in Danger: But you must be careful, lest a mistaken Zeal for Freedom makes you destroy the very End for which you engage, by factiously opposing all *necessary Measures* for the Defence of a Government, upon the Suspicion of a Minister's having ill Designs. Thus for Fear of your Country's being oppressed, you take the effectual Means to destroy it.

An unguided Warmth for Liberty may be commendable in the Fire of Youth, but it is no becoming Character in one, who is chosen to represent his Country in Parliament. You are upon mature Deliberation, void of Pique as well as Interest, to act what is most expedient for your Countrey. Consider then, that in the Year 1721 we were rescued from the Jaws of Destruction; that *publick Credit* hath since flourished, and that those dreadful Wounds made in private Mens Circumstances are heal'd; that Peace hath poured all her Blessings on us; that universal Plenty hath quieted all our Discontents, and so great is our Wealth, that *Luxury*, a Vice arising from Affluence, seems to have fixed her Throne in Britain; and so powerful do we appear abroad, that Envy hath raised up those Troubles which *England* now labours to appease. Our Defence last Year was owing to the *vigorous Measures* then taken; and by what else have we obtained those Alliances that now make us at least equal to our Enemies? Shall a Series of continual Labours crowned with Success be no Protection against

common

common Calumny? Shall mere Aſſertions have the Weight of Evidence, and wiſe Actions, approved by Events, have no Place in Juſtification? Is it becauſe a turbulent Spirit may not again trouble the Repoſe of his Countrey, that wiſe and honeſt Men ſhall be prevailed upon to perplex the *Meaſures* taken for our *common Preſervation?* Were there Grounds for Diſcontent, then it would be great and glorious to accuſe the Guilty. Were the People really oppreſſed, well would it become a Patriot to point out the Authors of their Miſeries; the more glorious would it be to call them to Account, and prove their Crimes, the more they are guarded by Friendſhip, Wealth and Power. But if there be no Cauſe of *Diſcontent*, if the People are not oppreſſed, then is it baſe to blacken the Innocent, to detract from thoſe we cannot accuſe; for Detraction ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from Accuſation, as *Calumny* is widely different from *Evidence.*

AND whereas there has been a Pamphlet lately publiſhed intituled, A ſhort view of GREAT BRITAIN for four Years laſt paſt, with Remarks on the late Treaty at *Seville* in *Spain*, wherein the Author would inſinuate, that the Peace, Union, Friendſhip, and mutual Defence between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain* does not carry with it that Natural Tendency, Benefit or Advantage that might reaſonably be expected by a flouriſhing Nation, aſſiſted and ſupported by ſuch powerful Alliances as we are at preſent.

HE begins with a long detail of Circumſtances and Events, the primary Cauſes of Eruptions, Leagues, and Confederacies, and the fatal Con-

Conſequences that neceſſarily attend them; but when we conſider the many Obligations the Emperor lay under, what an Ocean of Blood and Treaſure he coſt us to ſupport his Pretenſions, we cannot but look back with Horror on thoſe deſtructive Meaſures that were concerted by the Imperial Miniſtry in that ſudden, unexpected and formidable Union, that memorable Treaty of *Vienna*, wherein the Emperor and the King of *Spain* were reciprocally engaged to ſupport the *Oſtend* Company, and to make an Invaſion in favour of the *Pretender*. This they conceived the moſt effectual way to execute their perpetrated deſigns; they entertained hopes by plunging into new difficulties, by raiſing and fomenting inteſtine Troubles within the Bowels of our native Country, to divert our Thoughts, and ſecure the poſſeſſion of thoſe two important Fortreſſes, *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahone*.

WHATEVER may be the Opinion of ſome Gentlemen amongſt us. Certainly the Conduct of our Miniſtry as to the Treaty of *Hanover*, ought not to be called in Queſtion, the World would certainly blame them for their Indolence if (after the repeated Intelligence from abroad, of the deſtructive Meaſures entered into by thoſe two formidable Powers) they had ſupinely laid, or like Drones had remained unactive till fatal Experience had taught them, that they were not in a condition to ſtem the Torrent of that Inundation that had overflowed the bounds of our Security, and injuſtly invaded the liberty and property of the People.

But for this once I will chime in with the Craftsman, that it ſeemed at firſt ſomewhat extraordinary

traordinary to People of no great penetration or foreſight, that ſo formidable a Fleet ſo well equipped, manned and victualled, and under the direction of ſo Excellent a Commander as Admiral *Hoſier*, who had (to make uſe of his own words) thoſe ever memorable Orders to lye before *Porto Bello* to block up the Galleons which were coming, and even to uſe perſuaſive force to take not only them but the Flotilla at *la vera Cruz*, where he continued upon that unwholeſome Station, till their Ships were almoſt deſtroyed by Worms, his Proviſion ſpent, and his Men periſhed in a moſt miſerable manner.

THIS is only ridiculing a wiſe legiſlative Power, to foment Animoſities, and to cement thoſe unhappy diviſions amongſt us, *Philipicks* and bitter groundleſs invectives to arraign the Conduct of the Miniſtry, who have not by their management merited thoſe Aſperſions that are inceſſantly caſt upon them.

LET us then conſider the Motives that induced us to ſend a Fleet to the *Indies*. The Government was very well and ſeaſonably apprized of the Engagements betwixt *Spain* and the *Empire*, that the latter wanted only Money to bring a compleat and numerous Army into the Field, and as Money is the very Sinews, the Eſſence of a War; it might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that *ſublata cauſa tollitur Effectus*, if they had not that prevailing Argument, and were not ſupplied from *Spain* (which without the Wealth of *Indus* could not well be effected) they muſt have ſuſpended the Execution of their projects, and have waited patiently for a more favourable Opportunity;

beſides, to attack them in their Harbours without previous notice, a formal declaration of War, would apparently falſify our Engagements, break thro' the moſt ſolemn Treaties, render us the Aggreſſors, and be rated the Inſtrument of all the Depradations, Devaſtations, and the Calamities of deſtructive Violence, Rapine and Perſecution.

As to the Clamours of ſome People for the decay of Shipping and the loſs of Men, I anſwer, that our Ships were originally deſigned and built for the Service of the Country, if therefore they receive any damage in their Stations, which are ſettled for our Security, that muſt be imputed to the Neceſſity we were under at that Critical Juncture of ſending them thither, which was a misfortune that could not well be avoided (as in a Sea-fight, where Ships are ſunk, burnt, taken or ſtranded) and ought to be imputed as an accidental Loſs, not as a general Calamity; and as to the Men, whoſe number was not ſo great as he would inſinuate, their Death is but a neceſſary Cauſe; for it is appointed that all Men muſt die, if we were to conſider that theſe Men are gathered out of ſeveral different Pariſhes, where if they had died, the loſs had not been miſſed, but as they were called together, our Author aggravating the Fate of ſo many Men (whoſe number was only by Suggeſtion or Computation) lays the Charge to the Miniſtry as the primary Cauſe of their diſaſterous Fate, which cannot reaſonably be accounted a regular way of arguing, and can only be termed a meer Equivocal and Sillogiſtical Problem.

He urges next, that, upon the proſpect of a Rupture, our Land and Marine Forces were aug-

augmented, and conſequently our Taxes were increaſed; but could it be thought that we ſhould ſit ſtill, and not provide againſt an immediate Neceſſity, is there a Sailor when he ſees afar off the gathering of lowring Clouds, the certain Index of an approaching Storm, that will not lower his Sails, clear his Ship, and uſe all poſſible means for his Security? Why then, is the Adminiſtration cenſured for thoſe neceſſary contingent Charges, which have brought the *Spaniards* at laſt to Reaſon, and to agree to a firm, ſolid and laſting Peace, highly beneficial to the Subjects of GREAT BRITAIN, wherein all former Treaties, as to our Trade and Commerce, are confirmed, without any Equivocation or mental Reſervation whatſoever.

BY the Articles Signed and Ratified at *Seville*, we have not only the free Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* delivered up to us, but the formal Renunciation of thoſe two Important Fortreſſes ratified in the moſt effectual manner which are, and always have been eſteemed a Bulwark and certain Security to our Commerce and Navigation.

I confeſs, Faction and Intereſt are dangerous Tenets, and ſeldom make a true Conſtruction of Events, but carry with them an opinionated Zeal, and a certain prejudice and premeditated malice; they ought to be diſtinguiſhed with a certain mark for Infamy and Diſgrace, as *Cain* was for his Preſervation. For it is a hard matter to diſcover them, ſo exactly do the Incendiaries and promoters of Sedition paint and dreſs their falſe Plantagenets, and *Pſeudo Muſtaphas* in reſemblance of the real Portraiture, eſpecially when they come fucuſſed and dreſſed by

by the skilful hands of a curious Penman, and the ſpacious pretence, accumulated diſadvantages, and infringment upon popular Liberty and legal Property.

IT may perhaps be objected, this *Peace*, as it is not general, will be only *pro tempore*, provided his Imperial Majeſty does not Accede to it, which can hardly be expected, becauſe it is not probable he will quit his Pretenſions to *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, to Compliment the *Spaniſh* Court in favour of *Don Carlos*; whereas by the *Quadruple Alliance* it was ſtipulated, that in Caſe the preſent *Duke* ſhould die without Iſſue Male, the Succeſſion ſhould devolve on the Eldeſt Son of his Catholick Majeſty independant of the Crown of *Spain*, and that thoſe Places ſhould be Garriſoned with ſix thouſand Men Neutral Troops, at the Expences of the *Emperor*, *Great Britain*, and *France*, in equal Proportion; ſo that the ſpeedy Introduction of *Spaniſh* Troops into *Tuſcany* is an infringement on that Article of the *Quadruple Alliance*, and conſequently there can be no Tye, no Obligation on his part to accede to the Treaty of *Seville*, which is a plain variation from the Quadruple Alliance.

TO this I anſwer, that it does not affect us whether he accedes or not; for if there ſhould break out an open Rupture between the two Contending Powers, we are only obliged to furniſh *Spain* with a ſtipulated number of Troops, or with an Equivalent in Shipping or Money; ſo that we may properly be ſaid to be Spectators, and not Actors, in the fatal Conſequences that neceſſarily attend on diſputes of ſo great an Importance.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM 17 MA1904